dans les Actes de 536. Cette identification explique au mieux la connaissance que Pamphile a de Léonce de Byzance, replace la *Solutio* dans un contexte de luttes théologiques qui lui semble bien adapté et éclaire aussi l'attitude de la *Solutio* vis-à-vis de Justinien.

RECONSTRUCTING PRE-PASCHAL LITURGIES IN CONSTANTINOPLE: SOME SIXTH CENTURY HOMILETIC EVIDENCE

PAULINE ALLEN
(Brisbane, Australia)

Liturgically, as in almost every other respect, the sixth century played a crucial developmental role in Byzantium. The liturgical cycle began to develop rapidly, new feasts were added, and the genre of the kontakion, which reached excellence in the hands of Romanos Melodos, received a firm place in the liturgy of the church. A theology of liturgy was developed by Dionysius the Areopagite, and in its sequel, the *Mystagogia* of Maximus Confessor, we have a magisterial interpretation of the liturgical life of the church in the age of Justinian and his successors. Not to be forgotten is the remarkable edifice of Hagia Sophia, in which the new rituals were conducted[1].

It is therefore a piece of good fortune that we have at our disposal roughly contemporary sets of evidence from a single location in the sixth century, which either hint at or discuss explicitly liturgical practices at the time. In what follows I shall be considering two mid-sixth century authors from Constantinople, the presbyter Leontius, and the patriarch Eutychius, and the light which their homilies throw on the liturgies for Lazarus Saturday, Palm Sunday, and Maundy Thursday in Constantinople.

My interest in the liturgy for Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday[2] in Constantinople was sparked by editing two homilies of Leontius, presbyter of Constantinople, on Palm Sunday (*CPG* 7983 and 7898), and subsequently by translating them into English and placing them in their liturgical context[3]. This homilist, previously but little known, is in all

[1] On the liturgical significance of the sixth century in Byzantium see further H.-J. SCHULZ, *The Byzantine Liturgy. Symbolic Structure and Faith Expression* (tr. M.J. O'CONNELL), New York 1986, p. 21-49.

[2] On Lazarus Saturday see T.J. TALLEY, *The Origins of the Liturgical Year*, second, emended edition, Collegeville 1991, p. 42, 127-128, 171, 176-182, 185-189, 211-214 and 234 with literature. On Palm Sunday see *ibid.*, p. 171, 176-182, 186, 198-200, 203, 205, 209-214, 228 n. 58 and 234, with literature.

[3] See C. DATEMA - P. ALLEN, *Leontii Presbyteri Constantinopolitani Homiliae (Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca*, 17), Turnhout - Leuven 1987, henceforward cited as

probability to be dated to the mid-sixth century, possibly to the first patriarchate of Eutychius of Constantinople (552-565)[4]. While there is no clear evidence in the homilies of where the presbyter preached, it seems more likely that he worked in a smaller church in Constantinople, rather than in Hagia Sophia or a larger foundation[5]. The fact that his two homilies on Palm Sunday combine typical scriptural texts for that feast with pericopes from the previous day, the Saturday of Lazarus, days which are pivotal in the Lenten liturgical programme, needs now to be considered in light of a recent hypothesis put forward by the eminent liturgist Thomas Talley. According to Talley, these two feasts originated in ante-Nicene Alexandria, and passed from there to Constantinople and thence to Jerusalem. The Feast of Lazarus is then a remnant of Alexandrian baptismal practice connected with the conclusion of a post-Epiphany fast of forty days[6]. The history of the development and partial fusion of these two feasts is still to be written, and cannot concern us here in detail. Suffice it to say that originally there may well have been a liturgical connection between the raising of Lazarus and baptism administered before the Pascha. If, however, as Talley hypothesises, Lazarus Saturday in Constantinople pre-dates the hagiopolite feast of Lazarus, we might reasonably expect to find liturgical evidence of this in Constantinople before 383, when Egeria witnessed the feast in Jerusalem.

The second of Leontius' homilies on Palm Sunday bears the title: 'Sermon on the Illumination Beforehand (προφωτίσματα) and on Palm Sunday and on the raising of Lazarus'[7]. The Patristic Greek Lexicon renders προφωτίσματα 'baptism preceding Easter festival'[8]: it is a rare word in the Patristic period. In all but two of the nineteen manuscripts transmitting the title of this homily, we find the word προφωτίσματα[9]: the two exceptions are *Parisinus gr. 443*, a palimpsest dating from the ninth century, and *Mediolanensis, Ambrosianus S 18 sup.* from the

DATEMA - ALLEN; and P. ALLEN with C. DATEMA, *Leontius Presbyter of Constantinople. Fourteen Homilies* (*Byzantina Australiensia*, 9), Brisbane 1991, henceforward cited as ALLEN - DATEMA.

[4] See C. DATEMA, *When did Leontius, presbyter of Constantinople, preach?*, *VChr* 35 (1981), p. 347-348; cf. reviews of DATEMA - ALLEN which concur with this dating: M. CUNNINGHAM, *Heythrop Journal* 32 No.1 (1991), p. 140-142 and B.E. DALEY, *JThS* N.S. 41 (1990), p. 715-719.

[5] See ALLEN - DATEMA, p. 8.

[6] *O.c.*, p. 213.

[7] See ALLEN - DATEMA, p. 51 (Greek text in DATEMA - ALLEN, p. 150).

[8] G.W.H. LAMPE, p. 1198 *s.v.*

[9] See DATEMA - ALLEN apparatus criticus, p. 150.

fourteenth century. The most important manuscript to contain this word is the uncial *Patmos 190*, from the ninth century, but there are other early witnesses as well, including one manuscript from the ninth-tenth centuries, and four dated to the tenth century[10]. Both major groups of manuscripts in the transmission are represented in these six witnesses. On balance, then, we can say not only that the word προφωτίσματα is found in the majority of manuscripts from both major groups, but that it was present in the transmission of the text of the homily in the ninth century and possibly earlier.

The pericope which serves Leontius in his exposition in this homily is *Jn* 12, 1-18, a passage which the congregation had heard read out in the course of the liturgy of the word[11]. A description of the raising of Lazarus forms the conclusion of the homily, although the Gospel story in which this event is recounted is not included in the main pericope: the concluding words in *Jn* 12, 1 are reason enough for a detailed treatment of the resuscitation of Lazarus. A striking feature of this homily, as I have observed, is in fact the manner in which Leontius avails himself of not only the pericopes proper to Palm Sunday itself, but also of those belonging to the Saturday of Lazarus. For all that, it seems clear that the homily was delivered on Palm Sunday, and in the course of the morning liturgy, because the homilist refers to the work which is awaiting his congregation[12].

The 'Illumination Beforehand' is not treated explicitly in the homily. However, in focussing on the significance of the present feast Leontius remarks:

> Just as John is the precursor of the Lord, so is this day the precursor of the resurrection. And just as John, pointing to the Lord, said: 'Behold the Lamb of God, who takes away the sins of the world' (*Jn* 1, 29), so too this day, pointing to the coming Sunday, has cried out aloud with the words: 'Behold the mother of those who are going to be born'[13].

If we are to see in these words a reference to those who have been illuminated beforehand i.e. baptised, we still have to determine when the initiatory liturgy occurred. The manner in which Leontius returns in the homily to the pericopes which the congregation had heard read out on

[10] See DATEMA - ALLEN, p. 103-113 for a list of the manuscripts and a discussion of their stemmata.

[11] See ALLEN - DATEMA, p. 38.

[12] See ALLEN - DATEMA, p. 58 and 33.

[13] See DATEMA-ALLEN, p. 57.

the Saturday of Lazarus[14] suggests that the baptisms took place the day before, or during the vigil from Saturday night to Sunday, rather than on the feast of Palm Sunday itself. On the basis of Leontius' preaching, however, this cannot be proven conclusively.

In the tenth century Typicon of the Great Church (Hagia Sophia) in Constantinople, the patriarch baptises and anoints with chrism in the small baptistery, immediately after the morning office on the Saturday of Lazarus. This information is contained in two of the manuscripts which transmit the Typicon, *Patmos 266*, dating from the end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century, and *Hagios Stavros 40*, from the ninth-tenth century, although the former does not stipulate the place where the baptisms occur[15]. While Juan Mateos, the editor of the Typicon, suggests that the purpose of these baptisms was to reduce the length of the paschal vigil[16], we may wonder whether from the ninth century onwards this was in fact necessitated by the number of candidates for baptism. It seems more likely, as Thomas Talley proposes, that the rubrics in the Typicon represent a much earlier practice, which became enshrined in the text of this liturgical document[17]. Talley writes of

> an oddity reported in the typica of the ninth and tenth centuries that at least needs to be filed for future reference. This is the altogether astonishing fact that the Saturday of Lazarus, one week before the great paschal feast, is a full initiatory liturgy[18].

How much older this practice was has already been suggested by our examination of Leontius' homily on Palm Sunday. However, the evidence of another mid-sixth century homilist, the patriarch Eutychius, gives curious but sure testimony to the existence of the προφωτίσματα in his day.

The patriarch Eutychius enjoyed two terms of office as patriarch of Constantinople, the first from 552-565, after which he was exiled, and the second from 577-582[19]. Eutychius and his biography written by

[14] See ALLEN - DATEMA, p. 34.

[15] J. MATEOS, *Le Typicon de la Grande Église*, II, *Le cycle des fêtes mobiles* (*Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 166), Rome 1963, p. 63.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 63 n. 2.

[17] T.J. TALLEY, *o.c.*, p. 189.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 188.

[19] On Eutychius the best general introduction is still *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, II (1880), 414-416. The more recent reference article by A. KASHDAN in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, I, Oxford 1991, p. 759 partly confuses Eutychius with the supposed christological heresiarch Eutyches of Alexandria.

Eustratius have only recently begun to receive the attention they deserve[20]. Four fragments survive of the only homily of the patriarch which has come down to us, 'On the Pascha and the most holy Eucharist' (*CPG* 6939), preserved in the catena of Nicetas of Heracleia on Luke[21]. Brightman drew on Eutychius' homily in his reconstruction of the eucharistic liturgy before the seventh century[22]. In addition, the fourth of these fragments has been discussed minutely for the liturgical information which it contains on the Entrance of the Mysteries[23]. However, the argumentation presented by the patriarch in the other three fragments of the homily has, as far as I can discover, gone all but unnoticed in the history of liturgy[24]. Similar argumentation is found in a neglected work of John Philoponus 'On the Pascha' (*CPG* 7267)[25]. Eutychius' homily itself pertains to Maundy Thursday, and there is no reason to doubt that it was delivered on that feast. While an exhaustive treatment of all of these fragments must wait for another occasion, it will be helpful here to give a brief account of their contents in order to place the patriarch's comments on Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday in their homiletic context.

[20] The honorandus of this volume has been at the forefront of this research: see C. LAGA, *Eustratios van Konstantinopel. De Mens en zijn Werk*, diss., Leuven 1958, and now *Eustratii presbyteri Vita Eutychii patriarchae Constantinopolitani* (*Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca*, 25), Turnhout - Leuven, 1992. See also Averil CAMERON, *Eustratius' Life of the Patriarch Eutychius and the Fifth Ecumenical Council*, in: *Kathegetria. Essays presented to Joan Hussey for her 80th Birthday*, ed. J. CHRYSOSTOMIDES, Camberley 1988, p. 225-247; EADEM, *Models of the Past in the late Sixth Century: The Life of the Patriarch Eutychius*, in: *Reading the Past in Late Antiquity*, ed. G. CLARKE et AL., Australian National University 1990, p. 205-223; Averil CAMERON and A. WILSON, *Life of Eutychius*, forthcoming in *Belfast Byzantine Studies*.

[21] Cf. *CPG*. IV, C135. The fragments are: 1. *P.G.* 86(2), 2392 A - 2396 C6; 2. 2396 C6 - 2400 A8; 3. 2400 A9 - C1; 4. 2400 C2 - 2401 B8.

[22] F.E. BRIGHTMAN, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, I, Oxford 1896, p. 527-534.

[23] See H.-J. SCHULZ, *o.c.*, p. 37-39; R. TAFT, *The Great Entrance: a history of the transfer of gifts and other pre-anaphoral rites of the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom* (*Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 20), Rome 1975, esp. p. 84-86 and p. 272-275; T.F. MATHEWS, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy*, University Park-London 1977, p. 157-158 and p. 173.

[24] Two exceptions are MATHEWS, *o.c.*, p. 173, who adduces a passage from the first fragment (*P.G.* 86 [2], 2396 A6-10) to prove that the celebrant processed out of the church with the congregation at the end of the eucharistic liturgy; and R. CANTALAMESSA, *La pasqua nella Chiesa antica*, Turin 1978, p. 130-131 n. 83, who in a register of texts lists a passage from the first fragment (*P.G.* 86[2], 2393 B: 'Επιθυμίᾳ ... τῷ ἀντιτύπῳ), without, however, situating Eutychius' work in a liturgical context.

[25] The edition of C. WALTER, *Ioannes Philoponus. Disputatio de Paschate*, Iena 1899, was unavailable to me. I have used the edition of Andreas Gallandius, *Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum Antiquorumque Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum*, XII, Venice 1778, p. 610-617.

In the first fragment Eutychius is concerned with presenting a chronology of the meals which Christ had with his disciples before the Pascha, partly in order to reconcile the inconsistencies of the Synoptic account for Holy Week with those of the Johannine tradition and to establish the date of the Christian Pascha — a pre-occupation of early Christian writers[26]. For all that, the patriarch is less intent on establishing a biblical chronology than in providing a numerical typology and aitiology for existing liturgical practices in his see. This can be seen from the fact that he distinguishes three pre-Paschal meals: the first in Gethsemane, placed by Eutychius on the Saturday evening, an event for which he follows the Johannine account; the second in Bethany, according to him on the Sunday evening, for which he cites *Mt* 26, 17 and *Jn* 12, 1; the third a mystical meal on Sion, the meal spoken of, says Eutychius, in *Lk* 22, 15: 'I have earnestly desired to eat this Passover with you before I suffer'. Here the patriarch follows a tradition, to which the earliest witness is the homilist Hesychius of Jerusalem (first half of the fifth century), whereby the Last Supper was located on Sion[27].

The second fragment is devoted to the significance of the actual sacrifice of Christ, the Passover lamb, on Good Friday, as opposed to the mystical Passover which is commemorated on the previous day. The mystical sacrifice of Christ, celebrated on Maundy Thursday, is fulfilled in the resurrection of the Lord on the following Sunday, maintains Eutychius, and is always celebrated on the Thursday, no matter on what day of the week the beginning of the (lunar) fourteenth day (cf. *Ex* 12, 3, 6) falls. Again the patriarch is attempting to harmonise the chronology of the Johannine account with that of the Synoptics, at the same time, like the sixth century scholar John Philoponus, seeking to dissociate the Christian Pascha from the Jewish one[28]. The argumentation in both

[26] For the problems encountered by the early church in harmonising the evangelical accounts see in general T.J. TALLEY, *o.c.*, p. 2-13; cf. V. LOI, *Il 25 marzo data pasquale e la cronologia giovannea della passione in età patristica*, *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 85 (1971), p. 48-69. The investigations of A. JAUBERT, *La date de la cène. Calendrier biblique et liturgie chrétienne* (*Études bibliques*), Paris 1957; English translation *The Date of the Last Supper*, Staten Island, N.Y. 1965;(cf. EADEM, *La date de la dernière cène*, *RHR* 146 (1954), p. 140-175) led to the conclusion that the Last Supper took place on the Wednesday of Holy Week, a thesis refuted by e.g. J. GÉLINEAU, *La date de la dernière cène*, *La Maison-Dieu* 43 (1955), p. 165-167.

[27] See M. AUBINEAU, *Les homélies festales d'Hésychius de Jérusalem*, I (*Subsidia hagiographica*, 59), Brussels 1978, p. 361-362; *Hésychius de Jérusalem. Homélies sur Job*, I, *Homélie V*, edition, translation and notes by CH. RENOUX and CH. MERCIER (*Patrologia Orientalis*, 42), Turnhout 1983, p. 149 n. 2.

[28] See T.J. TALLEY, *o.c.*, p. 2-13 for the background to these attempts.

authors is complicated and contrived, as well as obscured by the varying use of inclusive reckoning[29]. In this second fragment Eutychius appeals to the Council of Nicaea (325), which he claims stipulated that all Christians should celebrate the resurrection together, not when the Jews commemorate the Passover[30], and he adds that even in his day some Christians do not keep the feast of the resurrection on the proper day. Here the patriarch may be reacting to the growing trend to separate the events of Holy Week, rather than to follow the early tradition in which Christ's suffering, death and resurrection all belonged together[31]. Also at fault, continues Eutychius, are those who mix water and wine only after they have been brought to the eucharistic table, rather than offering the two elements already mixed in the cup. This is akin to commemorating only the day of the Lord's betrayal, i.e. Maundy Thursday, and not the day of the Lord's resurrection. As in the fourth fragment, here Eutychius is countering liturgical irregularities existing in the church. These may not be completely unconnected with the custom among the monophysite Armenian Christians of offering wine unmixed with water, a custom which appears to have been introduced precisely in the sixth century[32]. It is also probably no accident that Eutychius' homily derives from a time of controversy among Eastern Christians about the nature of the wine used in the eucharistic liturgy[33].

The import of the third fragment is less easy to ascertain. Eutychius appears to be assigning the blessing of the cup by Jesus to the meal which he shared with the disciples, rather than to a mystical communion. He appeals to *Lk* 9, 16, the feeding of the crowd with five loaves, in order to demonstrate that it is customary to pray before partaking of both ordinary food and mystical food, and that praying over food is different from blessing it. I suspect the general idea which the patriarch is conveying is that the meal shared by Christ with the disciples on the evening of Maundy Thursday was an ordinary meal, containing none of the trappings of a Passover meal, because Christ, the true Paschal victim,

[29] See e.g. the end of John Philoponus' disputation where he acquits himself before his critics by citing *Genesis* 1, 5 to justify his inclusive reckoning of the events of Holy Week: *And there was evening and there was morning, one day* (*loc.cit.*, 617 D). This pericope itself was no doubt standard in this context: see *Didascalia* XIV,19.

[30] In fact this directive was contained in a circular letter sent to certain churches by the Emperor Constantine after Nicaea. Cf. *Vita Constantini* III,17; Theodoret, *H.E.* I,9; Socrates, *H.E.* I,9.

[31] See T.J. TALLEY, *o.c.*, p. 12-13.

[32] On this custom see H.-J. SCHULTZ, *o.c.*, p. 39-43.

[33] See *ibid.*, p. 40.

was not sacrificed until the day after, when the lambs were slain for the Passover. This distinction between Christian and Jewish Pascha is an ancient one, and is laboured also by John Philoponus[34].

In the fourth fragment the patriarch takes issue with those who process to the altar with unconsecrated bread and the mixed water and wine, praying and singing in adoration the while. This has been seen to be a reference to the Entrance of the Mysteries, and a criticism of the eucharistic hymn, the Cherubikon, which was apparently introduced into the Byzantine liturgy by Emperor Justin II in 573/4[35]. Eutychius adduces two Patristic citations, ostensibly from Athanasius, to demonstrate that of themselves the bread and wine are not supernatural, and only become the body and blood of Christ after they are consecrated. Here once again Eutychius assumes a conservative position in the face of the liturgical theology of the sixth century, in which even before the consecration 'the bread and wine have a representational character of a symbolico-figurative kind'[36].

From this overview of the remains of Eutychius' homily 'On the Pascha and on the most holy Eucharist' we can, I think, conclude that in this work the patriarch was concerned both with establishing a chronology for events in Holy Week which concurred with liturgical practice in his church, and with denouncing aberrant practices in his day connected with the eucharistic liturgy. He would not appear to be at the forefront of the liturgical innovation which is so characteristic of the sixth century.

But we need now to return to the first fragment of Eutychius' homily to consider the first meal which, according to him, Christ ate with his disciples around the time of the Pascha.

> We find that at the time of the Pascha the Lord had three meals, in different places. There was one in Gethsemane, which comprised the washing [of the feet] on the Sabbath Day, when Sunday or the first day was beginning. This is why at that time we perform the illuminations beforehand[37].

[34] *Loc. cit.*, 610 C6-14 and 614 B8-13. For the antiquity of the argument cf. Hippolytus, *Peri Pascha*, quoted in the *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. B.G. NIEBUHR (*Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*), I, Bonn 1832, p. 13, 4-6: Πεπλάνηται δὲ μὴ γινώσκων ὅτι ᾧ καιρῷ ἔπασχεν ὁ Χριστὸς οὐκ ἔφαγε τὸ κατὰ νόμον πάσχα. οὗτος γὰρ ἦν τὸ πάσχα τὸ προκεκηρυγμένον ...

[35] For a discussion of Eutychius' attitude to the Cherubikon see the works in n. 23 above.

[36] H.-J. SCHULTZ, *o.c.*, p. 40.

[37] Τρία γε μὴν δεῖπνα τὸν Κύριον, κατὰ τὸν τοῦ Πάσχα καιρὸν πεποιηκότα εὑρίσκομεν, τὰ καὶ τοῖς τόποις διάφορα· ἓν μὲν ἐν Γεθσημανῆ, ὃ καὶ τὸν νιπτῆρα περιέχει κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Σαββάτου ἡμέραν, τῆς Κυριακῆς ἤτοι τῆς πρώτης ἐναρχομένης ἡμέρας· διὸ καὶ ἡμεῖς τηνικαῦτα ποιοῦμεν τὰ προφωτίσματα (*P.G.* 86 [2], 2392 A1-6).

The use of the word νιπτήρ in this passage to designate Christ's washing of the disciples' feet (*Jn* 13, 1-20) seems to be a late development. Apart from this example Lampe cites one instance from the sixth century writer Cosmas Indicopleustes and another from ps. Germanus of Constantinople[38]. As we shall discuss presently, the liturgical association of the washing of the feet with Maundy Thursday is an even later development, and the earliest testimony to it in Byzantium derives from about the middle of the eighth century[39]. I see no other way of interpreting νιπτήρ in Eutychius than 'foot-washing'. He is then associating the washing of the disciples' feet with the purification effected by the προφωτίσματα, administered during the evening of the Saturday of Lazarus. Now the actual ceremony of foot-washing was associated variously in the early church, but particularly in the West and in Syria, with pre- and post-baptismal purification[40]. Eutychius' case is quite different, as he is not dealing with the ceremony of νιπτήρ itself. Rather, having assigned the meal recorded in the Johannine account to the evening of Lazarus Saturday, he has the symbolism of the washing of the feet also at his disposal. This he then relates to the purification of pre-Paschal baptism. We have to conclude that in Eutychius' day in Constantinople there was no connection, liturgical or otherwise, between the washing of the feet and Maundy Thursday.

Now attempts to rationalise the meals which figure in the passion accounts of the Synoptics and John are common enough before the sixth century[41]. In the *Apostolic Constitutions*, for example, a work of contentious date deriving from the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century, we find that two meals around the time of the Pascha are distinguished[42]. However, as far as I have been able to discover, Eutychius is the only author to distinguish *three* meals, and there is no other evidence for associating the meal which contained the foot-washing with the liturgy of Lazarus Saturday. In order to establish the patriarch's motive for this association we should attempt to situate his homily in the tradition of Constantinopolitan preaching for Holy Week.

[38] G.H.W. LAMPE, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford 1972, p. 914-915 *s.v.* 2.

[39] See T. SCHÄFER, *Die Fusswaschung im monastischen Brauchtum und in der lateinischen Liturgie. Liturgiegeschichtliche Untersuchung (Texte und Arbeiten*, 47), Beuron 1956, p. 71; P.F. BEATRICE, *Due nuovi testimoni della lavanda dei piedi in età patristica: Cromazio di Aquileia e Severiano di Gabala*, *Augustinianum* 20 (1980) (= *Ecclesia Orans*, FS Adalbert G. Hamman OFM), p. 50 with n. 2.

[40] On the whole issue of foot-washing see T. SCHÄFER, *o.c.*; updated by P.F. BEATRICE, *art.cit.*, p. 23-54; ID., *La lavanda dei piedi. Contributo alla storia delle antiche liturgie cristiane (Biblioteca Ephemerides Liturgicae*, 28), Rome 1983.

[41] See A. JAUBERT, *La date de la cène*, p. 101 (ET, p. 90).

[42] *Apostolic Constitutions* V,14. Cf. A. JAUBERT, *o.c.*, p. 101 (ET, p. 90).

Let us first consider the homilies from Constantinople on Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday. If, according to Talley's hypothesis, these feasts were introduced to Constantinople before Jerusalem, it is intriguing that we have so few homilies for these days from Constantinople. Leaving aside the contentious homily of John Chrysostom *In psalmum 145* (*CPG* 4415), which Talley assigns to Constantinople but which seems more germane to Antioch[43], we have no extant homily on these feasts delivered by Chrysostom in Constantinople. The homily of Proclus of Constantinople (434-446) on Palm Sunday (*CPG* 5808)[44] is devoted almost entirely to the celebration of that feast, with a mention of the raising of Lazarus right at the end. It is only in the sixth century, with the two extant homilies on Palm Sunday of the presbyter Leontius, discussed above, and a kontakion of Romanos Melodos[45], that we have more substantial testimony to the celebration of Palm Sunday, and, by implication, of Lazarus Saturday, as well as to the proleptic liturgical nature of these two days. Yet, Eutychius' homily excepted, in the extant evidence the only explicit reference to the προφωτίσματα is found in the title of Leontius' second homily on Palm Sunday.

Next we need to ascertain whether Eutychius' association of the foot-washing with the initiatory liturgy belonging to the vigil of Palm Sunday can be paralleled in the homiletic tradition of Constantinople. Once again, the homiletic evidence for exegeses of the foot-washing recounted in *Jn* 13, 1-20 is sparse. From Severian of Gabala, who was active in the capital during the patriarchate of John Chrysostom (398-403), we have a homily (*CPG* 4216), attributed in the manuscripts to John Chrysostom, which bears the title Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου λόγος εἰς τὸν νιπτῆρα τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ μεγάλῃ Ἐκκλησίᾳ. Given the late date at which the ceremony of foot-washing came to be associated with the liturgy of Maundy Thursday, however, this title must be a subsequent scribal addition[46]. Severian's purpose in the homily is largely christological, as he intends to show the

[43] *P.G.* 55, 519-528. See T.J. TALLEY's arguments, *o.c.*, p. 186-187. Antiochene provenance is indicated by Chrysostom's reference to τῶν ἐν ὄρεσι καθημένων μοναχῶν (*P.G.* 55, 526, 36-37), as already seen by Montfaucon.

[44] *P.G.* 65, 771-778.

[45] Kontakion XXXII, ed. J. GROSDIDIER DE MATONS, *Romanos le Mélode. Hymnes*, vol. IV (*Sources Chrétiennes*, 128), Paris 1967, p. 28-53; cf. E. KATAFYGIOTU-TOPPING, *Romanos, on the Entry into Jerusalem: a Basilikos Logos*, *Byzantion* 47 (1977), p. 65-91.

[46] For the text, introduction and French translation see A. WENGER, *Une homélie inédite de Sévérien de Gabala sur le lavement des pieds*, *REByz* 25 (1967) (= *Mélanges Venance Grumel*, II), p. 219-234.

condescension of the Logos in an anti-Arian sense, but he clearly understands the events of *Jn* 13, 1-20 literally, not symbolically as a more general purification from sin[47]. He ties these events specifically to a day on which the congregation was apparently celebrating liturgically the events related in the Johannine pericope[48], and it is hard to escape the conclusion that this day was the Thursday of Holy Week:

> The awe-inspiring mystery which happened today leads us to this next part of the homily. What happened on this day today? The Saviour washed the disciples' feet[49].

While Proclus, in his homily on Maundy Thursday (*CPG* 5809), concentrates on Christ's betrayal by Judas and on the vice of avarice, he also connects the foot-washing explicitly with the Last Supper and the occasion of Judas' treachery.

> Today the Master dined in the company of slaves; he revealed to them a paradise of mysteries; he gave sinless flesh as food; he bestowed a cup to wipe away sins; in the guise of an underling he washed the feet of the disciples[50].

In the extant works of Eutychius' contemporaries, the presbyter Leontius and Romanos the Melodist, we find that the predominant theme for Maundy Thursday is the betrayal of Judas[51]. It would appear that between the patriarchate of Proclus in the mid-fifth century and that of Eutychius in the mid-sixth, the foot-washing of the Johannine account had become symbolically associated in Constantinople with the προφωτίσματα during the vigil from the Saturday of Lazarus to Palm Sunday. If I am correct in seeing Eutychius as a liturgical conservative, in his homily on the Pascha he is substantiating an established liturgical practice, the beginnings of which should be sought closer to the time of Proclus. In any case, Eutychius' evidence strengthens the argument for the authenticity of the word προφωτίσματα in the title of Leontius' homily, thereby suggesting that in sixth century Constantinople the ceremony of the Illumination Beforehand was not confined to the Great Church.

[47] See ch. 21-22, ed. A. WENGER, *art.cit.*, p. 229.

[48] See ch. 15-16, ed. A. WENGER, *art.cit.*, p. 227-228, where the foot-washing is explicitly associated with the Last Supper, and P.F. BEATRICE, *art. cit.*, p. 46.

[49] Εἰς ταύτην δὲ τοῦ λόγου ἄγει ἡμᾶς τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τὸ ἐν τῇ σήμερον γενόμενον φρικῶδες μυστήριον. Τί δὲ ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ γέγονεν; Ὁ σωτὴρ τῶν μαθητῶν νίπτει τοὺς πόδας (ch. 12, ed. A. WENGER, *art.cit.*, p. 227).

[50] *P.G.* 65, 777 AB.

[51] Leontius, *Homily* VI, ed. DATEMA - ALLEN, p. 229-237; Romanos Melodes, *Kontakion* XXXIII, ed. J. GROSDIDIER DE MATONS, *o.c.*, p. 68-97.

As I indicated earlier in this paper, we are poorly informed about the origin and development of Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday, and still await a comprehensive study dedicated to these two feasts and their place in the liturgical cycle of the early church. Only after such a study has been done will we be able to ascertain the peculiar contribution of Constantinople to the liturgies of these days. Once again the importance of homiletic literature in investigating the everyday lives of early Christians comes to the fore[52]; and if it should seem far-fetched to posit the institution of a full pre-Paschal baptismal liturgy within the space of a hundred years, we need only consider the fluidity and variety of liturgical practice in the Eastern church, whereby the pre-baptismal renunciations in Antioch could move from Saturday evening to Friday afternoon within a period of eighteen years during the lifetime of John Chrysostom[53].

[52] Cf. P. ALLEN and W. MAYER, *Computer and Homily: Accessing the Everyday Life of Early Christians*, *VChr* 47 (1993), p. 260-280.

[53] For a full discussion of this see H.M. RILEY, *Christian Initiation. A Comparative Study of the Interpretation of the Baptismal Liturgy in the Mystagogical Writings of Cyril of Jerusalem, John Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia and Ambrose of Milan* (*Catholic University of America Studies in Christian Antiquity*, 17), Washington (D.C.) 1974, p. 28 n. 29.

LE TRAITÉ CONTRE LES TRITHÉITES (*CPG* 7245) DE DAMIEN D'ALEXANDRIE*

ALBERT VAN ROEY
(Leuven)

On sait par la Chronique de Michel le Syrien, X, 22 que Damien, patriarche monophysite d'Alexandrie de 578 à 604, composa à la demande de ses fidèles une réfutation d'un certain nombre de «chapitres» répandus par les Trithéites[1] pour propager leur doctrine de trois substances dans la sainte Trinité. Cette réfutation, raconte l'historien, déclencha une controverse entre Damien et son collègue d'Antioche, Pierre de Callinique (581-591) et fut à l'origine d'un schisme d'une trentaine d'années entre les deux Eglises monophysites[2]. Le traité de Damien contre les Trithéites que mentionne Michel est perdu; comme le sont également les «chapitres» contre lesquels il fut composé. Il ne reste plus du traité que les fragments que Pierre de Callinique en a cités dans le volumineux ouvrage contre les erreurs qu'il crut y découvrir (*CPG* 7252), et dont un premier volume vient de paraître dans la série grecque du *Corpus Christianorum*[3]. Ce sont ces fragments que nous rassemblons et traduisons du syriaque en latin dans cette contribution.

Quand, en 587, Pierre rédigea son *Contra Damianum*, la controverse avait deux ans et avait déjà suscité plusieurs écrits de la part des deux antagonistes. De Damien, l'ouvrage de Pierre fait connaître six lettres. Pour expliquer et justifier la doctrine qu'il avait exposée dans son traité contre les Trithéites et que Pierre avait critiquée, Damien avait écrit à Pierre une lettre importante que ce dernier nomme toujours *La longue Lettre (ἡ ἐπιστολὴ πολύστιχος)*. Damien avait encore adressé deux

* Abréviations: *CSCO = Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*; *GCS = Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller*.

[1] En parlant de «Trithéites», nous entendons indiquer les théologiens monophysites du VIe siècle enseignant que chaque Personne divine considérée à part est une substance et une nature, et que par conséquent on peut dire que la Trinité est constituée de trois substances ou natures. Ce sont leurs adversaires qui les accusaient de trithéisme.

[2] J.-B. CHABOT, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, II, p. 364-365; IV, p. 382.

[3] *Petri Callinicensis, patriarchae Antiocheni, tractatus contra Damianum*. I *Quae supersunt libri secundi*. Ediderunt et anglice reddiderunt R. Y. EBIED, A. VAN ROEY, L.R. WICKHAM, I (*Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca*, 29), Leuven - Turnhout 1994. L'édition comportera trois ou quatre volumes.

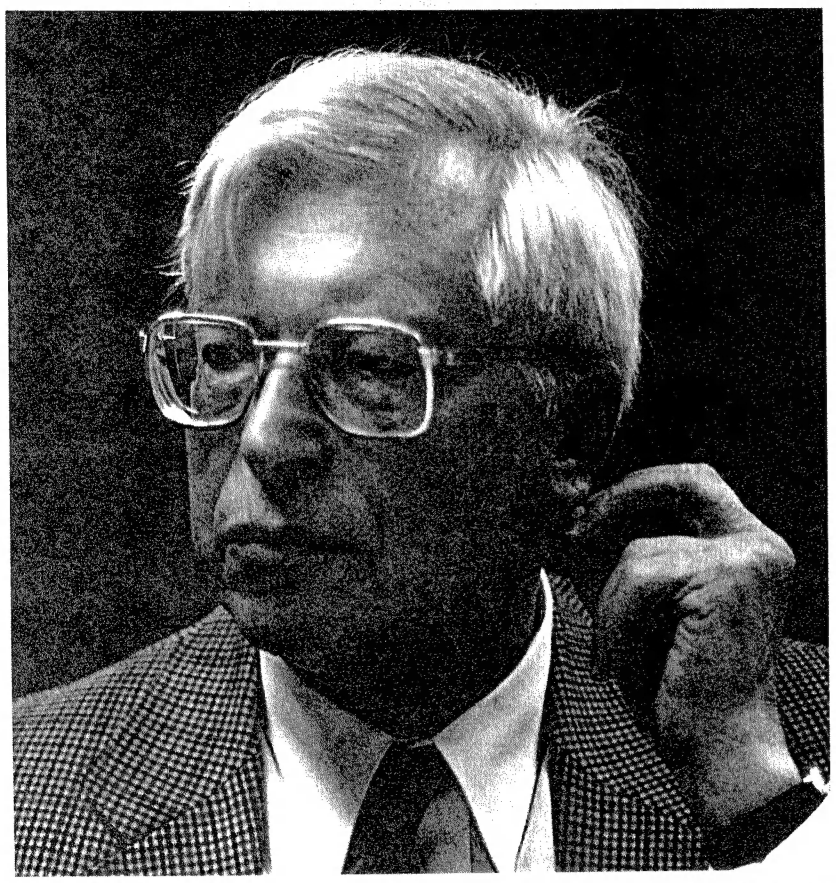

foto P. Van den Abeele (De Standaard - Het Nieuwsblad, V.U.M.)

ORIENTALIA LOVANIENSIA
ANALECTA
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PHILOHISTÔR

MISCELLANEA IN HONOREM CAROLI LAGA SEPTUAGENARII

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ab
A. SCHOORS et P. VAN DEUN

UITGEVERIJ PEETERS en DEPARTEMENT ORIËNTALISTIEK
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